SCOTT

Military Nouns in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

English

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A Study of the Military Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in the account of the Battle of Maldon.

Frank William Scott.

Thesis for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in the College of Literature and Arts in the University of Illinois.

June 1901.

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OF A. B.

Daniel Kilham Dodge

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF English

1901
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This paper, although, on account of the narrowness and incompleteness of its range, being more the beginning of a study than anything else, attempts to gather together in tangible form various facts concerning the military nomenclature in these two pieces of Anglo-Saxon literature. No special reason can be given for using MS. A of the Chronicle, except that to have taken up a study of all four, together with the three emanations would have been more than enough to serve the present purpose.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle has been preserved to us in four distinct MSS., commonly designated MSS. A. C. D. E. From these, three others have originated, which have been given the characters A. B and F. A is a more or less exact copy of E. MS. A. with which we have to deal bears the name of Archbishop Parker, by whom it

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was bequeathed to Corpus Christi college, Cambridge. The manuscript is the product of no fewer than fourteen different persons who wrote at various times previous to 892 and from that date until 1001 made the entries soon after the occurrences of the matters which they record.* Besides these different hands are numerous interpolations, some by those who later took up the entries, some by unknown hands.

The Battle of Maldon was handed down in a unique MS. which was printed by Hearne in 1726, five years after which the original was lost by fire. The account partakes in many respects of the characteristics of a modern newspaper report of a battle. It is supposed to have been written during or immediately after the battle, by an eyewitness. Charles Kingsley Crow, in his edition of Maldon, claims that the MS. used by Hearne was a West Saxon copy of a Fuerian original, and that originally both the beginning and the ending of the poem were present. Ettmüller believes that the author would be known to us by name if the poem had been preserved entire. Ruh, agreeing with Sweet that "it is even possible that the poet himself took an active

* Earle.

part in it (the battle)"; at any rate that he was an eye-witness and perhaps wrote during the progress of the fight, it is possible that the poem was never finished but that the writer was interrupted before the conclusion of the battle, and the poem was left uncompleted. It represents the destruction of the English forces at Maldon in Essex by foreigners resulting in the driving off of the enemy from further outrages and the establishment of the Danes in the land. Thus it marks the downfall of the power of Wessex and the beginning of Danish supremacy in the island.

The two, the Chronicle, and the Battle, will be considered together, the weapons and battle clothing of the Anglo-Saxons; the use of field and here and their compounds; the names, literal and figurative for single objects; the figurative words, their formation and use, will be taken up in turn together with the general tendency of the figures and the formation of kenning words, especially as regards stress or metrical use and derivation.

The most notable fact in regard to the military words in the Chronicle is their

scarcity, especially in the names of weapons. The language, except in the three critical passages, is straightforward, and for the most part unadorned narrative, and although largely occupied with battles and military expeditions, the prose contains but two references to weapons, one the general term "wæpen" occurring in 971 (wæpna g.p.) and the curious "taper-æx" in 1031 (n.s. taper-æx). Probably the same word as the old Norse "taparæx", the first part being Slavonic and meaning "axe".

So far as equipment was concerned, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been well provided, both with weapons of offense and of defense. The latter consisted of helmets, shields and corslets. The corslet is not mentioned in "die Trachten der Völker" but should be considered as being of perhaps equal importance with the shield and helmet.

The helmet, according to these authorities, was a leather cap or hood of raw hide, that of the leader a conical cap of metal. These were often further strengthened by ornaments. The shield was of leather or wood with a metal center, more or less protruding and pointed, and a metal rim. Grieg pp. 284. They were also

in some cases made completely of metal. Heterman says: "The Anglo Saxon shield was formed of light wood, perhaps in some instances of wicker-work; but, covered with tough hide it was a most effective defensive arm. In the laws of Æthelstan, the efficiency of the shield is specially provided for, and the shield-wright who covered one with sheep skin was mulcted in the heavy penalty of thirty shillings. The corslet consisted of locked rings, forming a sort of cloth of iron, which covered the body and protected it from the weapons of the enemy. The common word for the corslet is byrnet, Maldon n.s. 144, 284; byrnan a.s 163, while hringlocan a.p. occurs once in Maldon. Rēof a.s. 161 is the only other reference to coat of mail. The helmet is not mentioned in A or in Maldon, but in E occurs the passage: "1008. Her be hēad se cyng þæt man sceolde ofer eall Angel cynn scipu fæstlice wircean. þæt is þonne of I þrym hund hīdum and of X hīdon senne sceg̃ and of VIII hīdum helm and byrnan."

The shield is mentioned sixteen times in Maldon, where the most common name given it is bord, which occurs twelve times:

a.s. *lind* 22 15, 42, 62, 245, 270, 283, 309; m.s. 110, 131; g.s. *lindes* 284; n.p. *linda* 295; d.b. *lindum* 101. *Lind* occurs twice. a.p *linde* 99, 244. *Rand* is used once, a.p. *randas* in line 20, and *scild* twice d.s. *scylde* 131; a.p *scyldas* 98. Mention of the shield is made twice in the Chronicle, both times in poetical passages. *Scild* occurs in 937 and *heaþolinde* in the same year.

Of offensive weapons the supply consisted of the spear, sword, battle axe and bow and arrow. Mention of the spear is most frequently made, indicating perhaps that it was the weapon in most common use in conflicts. This view finds corroboration in the belief of Ackerman, who finds that the spear is the weapon most plentifully found in Anglo-Saxon graves. It is given six different names in all, two, *esc* and *ord*, being figurative. *Gār* is the one by which it is most frequently mentioned, occurring ten times in Maldon: n.s. *gār* 246; a.s. *gār* 13, 114, 154, 237, 321; d.s. *gāre* 138; a.p. *gāras* 46, 65, 104. It is distinctly a poetical word. The figurative *ord* comes next in number, occurring eight times with the meaning of point of the weapon.

Its use in line 110 indicates its meaning arrow: "bogan wæron bysige, bord ord feng:" In every other case it means spear, unless it be in 326

þā hē forð ēode feþe gemunde,
þæt hē mid orde ānne geræhte.

where the context indicates that it may mean sword. In 69 n.s and 273 d.s. the word has the meaning of front of army, or line of battle. Spere which we still retain is used twice, a.p. speru 108; n.s. spere 137. Franca occurs twice d.s. francan 77; a.s. francan 140; as also do daroð, a.s. 149, 255; and æsc a.s. 43, 310. The compound, wælspere occurs once, a.s. 322.

In the Chronicle daroð g.s. daroda 37, and garu d.p. garum 37 both appear once in the poetical entry, and gar once again in compound, garmitting, g.s. garmittinge 97.

The sword is mentioned twelve times in Maldon, under five different names, six times as sword, our own word for the weapon, while in the Chronicle where it is mentioned six times, about the same proportion in the use of sword is preserved, it occurring three times. Besides swurde, a.s. 15, 47, 161, 237; d.s. swurde 18; n.s. 166 occurs bill, twice used, a.s. bill 162, d.p. billum 114; mēca, also used twice, a.s.

167, 236; īren n.s. 253; and ecg n.s. 60. In the Chronicle sweord occurs in g.p. sweorda 937; d.p. sweordum 937; g.s. sweordes 937. Ecg is found twice, d.p. ecgum 937 (2). Þēce is used but once, d.p. mēcum 937. What may be regarded as a compound figurative word, hanor lāf, occurs once meaning sword, g.p. hanora ofum 93.

Ipachlen der Völker contains the statement that the Anglo-Saxons carried the bow only on the chase, which is manifestly a mistake, line 110 in Maldon

bogan wǣron byssge, bord ord onfeng;

indicating the use of the bow in that fight, and line 269,

ac hē fȳsde forð flān genehe:

notes the use of the arrow, as does also line 71,

hūton hwā þurh flānes flyht fyl genāme.

The line quoted contains the only mention of the bow, bīga, in b.; bogan 110, which occurs in either MS. flān occurs only the two times, g.s. flānes 71; a.p. flan 269.

Sceāð, sheath, occurs but once, only in Maldon, d.s. sceaðe 162, as does sceaft, the shaft of a spear n.s. 136. A compound word æscholt having the same meaning is used once

a.s. 230. Da byrdex has been mentioned as meaning one. That the weapon termed Dabex-axe was well known we learn from the Charter of Canute to Christ Church, Canterbury, granting the haven of Sandwich and the dues thereof, on either side, as far as a man standing in a ship at flood tide could cast a taper-axe on shore.* Heregeatu, meaning war equipment in general, occurs once, a.s. 48 Maldon. Besides its single occurrence in the prose of the Chronicle wæpen is used once in the poetical insertion in a compound, wæpen gewixlex g.s. 937, and occurs ten times in Maldon: n.s. 252; g.s. wæpnes 168; d.s. wæpne 228 a.s. wæpen 130, 235; g.p. wæpna 83, 272, 308; d.p. wæpnum 10, 126.

Before concluding the account of the weapons of the Anglo-Saxons it may not be out of place to insert some material not directly connected with the Chronicle or Maldon. The spear according to the authors of "Spaehten" was about 1.8 metres long, furnished with an iron bound, which was of various forms; sometimes diamond shaped, sometimes in the form of a blade sometimes having the shape of an arrow head, and sometimes having protruding lateral hooks; and always double edged. They were carried

* Ackerman.

by both horse-soldiers, the rād here Chronicle 891, and the foot soldiers, the fēða. The efficiency of spear, sword and other weapons was increased by the use of poison upon the points, as is mentioned in Maldon 4;

hē willaþ ēow tō gafole gāras, ȳðlan,
ættrynne ord and ealde swurd.

and in 146

him set heortan stōd
ǣttrene ord

Such practice reminds us of that of the American Indians in much the same circumstances.

While this completes the list of weapons there is one mentioned in Beowulf which shows that hand to hand conflicts were sometimes made more interesting than could be done with larger weapons, the seax: Beowulf 1546 "Ofsāt þā þone sele gyst and hyre seaxe geteāh". Concerning the small knife it has been thought by some that the Saxons took their name from the word seax. Ker man says, however," we must hesitate to admit that the implement found in the Anglo-Saxon graves was the characteristic weapon of these tribes."

Continuing the list we find that for some modern English equivalents an immense number of different words were used, the greatest variety being found in the words meaning "battle", "warrior" and "army". For the former, including all the poetical terms and the compounds, twenty one terms, more or less synonymous are found. These include, from the Maldon, beadu, beaduræs, feoht, gārræs, gēcamp, gehild, gūðplega, hild, nīðplega. In the Chronicle occur beadumere, hilgehild, camp, cumbelgehnāð, gārmitting, handplega, sacu, wæbengewrixle. Those occurring in both are: gefeoht, gūð gewinn nīð. Of all these terms, gūð, nīð and hild occur more than any others, gūð being found eight times in the Maldon: d.s. gūðe 13, 94, 185, 285, 296, 321; g.s. 192; a.s. 225 and once in the Chronicle d.s. 937. Nīð occurs seven times in Maldon. g.s. wiges 73, 130; d.s. wīge 10, 128, 193, 235, 252; and twice in the Chronicle g.s. gē (?). Hild occurs eight times, only in Maldon, d.s. hilde 8, 48, 123, 223, 288, 324; a.s. 33, 88. Gewinn occurs three times in Maldon, a.s. 214; d.s. gewinne 248, 302; and once in the Chronicle d.s. 921 Wīgplega occurs twice in Maldon, d.s.

wiglegan 268 i.s. wīgbegan 316. Lacu occurs twice in the Chronicle, d.s. sæcce 9, 7 (2). All the others in the list occur only once.

For warrior there is a list of fourteen different words, if hyse be included. This would while it may be used to mean "a young man" in no every case here cuttable of being interpreted to mean warrior. The others in the list are: in Maldon, cempa, dryng, fyrdrinc, gūðrinc, gārberend, rinc, wælwulf, wiga; in the Chronicle, wīgend, while hilderic, secg wiggend (wigend) and wicing (wīcing) occur in both. Of these hyse and wiga each occurs seven times; n.s. hyse 152; g.s. hyses 141; n.p. hysas 123, hyssas 112. g.p. hysa 2, 138; d.p. hysse 164. Wiga n.s. 211. d.s. wigan 126; a.s. wigan 75, 235; n.p. wigan 4, 202; g.p. wigena 135. Wicing occurs eight times; six in Maldon: a.s. 134. g.p. wicinga 36, 73, 77; d.p. wicingum 116; a.p. wicingas 322; and two in the Chronicle: g.p. wīcinga 8, 9, 885. Secg occurs twice in each: Maldon n.s. 139; a.p. secgas 298: Chronicle n.p. secgas 937? secg 937. The other words occur only once each.

The words used for army are among the most varied and interesting of all, including not fewer than fifteen different nouns, of varied meanings, and several compounds. In Maldon occur: *fe̊a*, *werod* and *xscheare*; in the Chronicle: *summorlidas*, *scire*, *eorodcist*, *fyrdstemn*, *flocc*, *floccrad*, *fultum*, *gefylc* (m. com. p.) *getruma* and *hloð*, while *fierd* and *here* occur in both. These two words *fierd*, and *here*, (goth. *harjis*) are used consistently in M.S. A to mean the English or native army, and the Danish, or invading army respectively, throughout the whole of the Chronicle. The distinction is not made, however, when *here* is used in compound with other words, as in *scipherе*, *landherе* and others. But these will be noted later. Bosworth - Toller states that *here* is always used in the Chronicle to mean the Danish army. This statement it seems, must be modified to a slight extent. In 910 E *here* occurs, where Plummer says it is a mistake, and in 906 E he says that *East Engle here* means not the native army of the East Angles; but the Danish force settled in East Anglia

In 1006 E occurs "se fyrding dyde þæra land leode selcne hearm þe hi him mæðon ne dohte ne inn here ne uthere." Inn here clearly means the native force. But Plummer suggests that here is used because the natives were as destructive as the Danes. The entry in E for 684 says "Her on Iissum gēare sende Ecgferð here on Scottas," which is again a breach of the usual order. The purpose of offence is no doubt the reason for the use of the term. Here is also used, D 1052, for Edward's army opposed to Godwine, earl of Wessex, and in the same year, C. D. 1052, is used for Godwine's army. In C. D 1014 "invader English force invading Scotland is designated here" Her for Siward eorl mid myclum here into Scotlande." "In 1073 E., here is used of William I's English force invading France, where D has fyrd; in 1085 here is used of his foreign mercenaries; in 1087, of William II's English troops which operated against Odo and his allies; in 1090, of Philip I's invasion of Normandy, though his forces combined with those of Duke Robert are called fyrd" So it appears

that although in a few cases here is used to mean the English army, it is so used only where that army is engaged in offensive expeditions outside its own country, as the Danes were when invading England, or when the native army was as fatal to the inhabitants of England as were the Danes. Further light is thrown upon the use and character of the here by the laws of Ine, in which the statement occurs: "Deofles wē hātap ōð VII men, from VII hlōp ōð XXXV sibðan hit here." In this connection it is also significant that booty is designated as here-rēaf. No distinction is made, however, between the Danish and English. The word occurs twice; in 473 it refers to booty secured by Hengest, the Dane, and in 518 to that taken by Ceaulin, the King of the West Saxons. Herehyð, also meaning "booty" occurs three times: in 894 twice and in 895 once, each time referring to the invading army. Here occurs but once in Maldon, l. 292, where it means the Danish army. In the Chronicle, however, it is used, independent of compounds, one hundred and three times, as follows: In 603, 1; 607, 1;

837, 1; 838, 1; 851, 2; 853, 1; 860, 2; 865, 2; 867, 4; 868, 1; 869, 1; 870, 1; 871, 9; 872, 2; 873, 2; 874, 3; 875, 4; 876, 1; 877, 2; 878, 6; 879, 1; 880, 2; 881, 2; 882, 1; 883, 1; 884, 1; 885, 3; 886, 1; 887, 2; 890, 1; 891, 1; 893, 2; 894, 12; 895, 2; 896, 3; 897, 3; 901, 1; 905, 2; 910, 1; 911, 4; 918, 2; 921, 7; 937, 1. Two of these, 876, 877, refer to "gehorsoda here", indicating that cavalry were used, but in neither case is it indicated that the soldiers went mounted into the conflict. A passage in Maldon would seem to indicate the contrary, that the horses were used only in travelling, perhaps for the sake of rapidity of movement, and were left behind in places of safety during the fray. The beginning of the poem, corresponding approximately with the beginning of the fight, says:

"Het þā hyssa hwylcne hors forlētan
fēor afȳsan, and ford gangan,
hicgan to landum and to hige gōdum"

which indicates that, having arrived at the battle place they dismounted, loosed the war horse and seized their weapons ready for the combat.

There is no deviation in the use of

fierd (fyrd, fird, ferd, feord): it always means the English army. Its first use in the Chronicle occurs in an interpolation for the year 60, where it is spelled ferde, the only use of the diagraph in that word in the Chronicle. It means the army of Aepelferp, King of Northumbria. The other occurrences, numbering thirty seven, are 823, 1; 827, 1; 828, 1; 835, 1; 851, 1; Edgbyht; 851, 1; 853, 1; Beorhtwulf; 867, 1; Northumbrian; 868, 1; West Saxon; 871, 1; Alfred; 876, 2; West Saxon; 877, 1; 885, 1; 894, 1; 895, 1; 896, 1; Alfred; 901, 1; 905, 2; 910, 1; 911, 1; 918, 1; 919, 1; Edward; 921, 2; West Saxon; 922, 1; 923, 1; 924, 1; Edward; 993, 1; Byrhtnod; 1001, 1; Eadsige. The only occurrence of the word fierd in Maldon is in 221, where it has the meaning of military expedition. This is the original meaning of the word, the other being derived from it. After fierd and here, the word for army most often used is fultum (here, auxilium, adjumentum) meaning help or reinforcements, from which is the derived meaning also, of army. It is used of the English army in 443, 1; 449, 1; 911, 2; 919, 1; 921, 4; and of the Danish 911, 1;

It is not used in Maldon. The Danish word getruma occurs twice in the Chronicle, in 871, meaning the Danish army. The other words for army used in Maldon are fēða. a.p. fe∂an 88; werod, n.s. 64, 77; d.s. werode 51; a.s. 102; and sescheres n.s. 69. The others in the Chronicle are as follows. Sumorlida (acc. leđe. sumorlieđe) used once to designate a force led by Alfred. Stelhere 893, 1; 921, 1; both times referring to a marauding Danish force. Lire 894, used only in this place meaning a division of an army, where it refers to that of Alfred: "hæo þe cyng ∂a ∂eoderweardes mid ∂are scire ∂e mid him fierdedom" Redhere 891, 1, meaning the Danish mounted force. Eorodcyst 931, 1; used only poetically, meaning a selected company. Fyrdsteorra 921, 1 the meaning derived from that of military service. Floce, 894, meaning a company. Flotmā∂ 894, 1; 917, 1; a mounted flock or company. Hloð, 879, 1; 894; a band, referring both times to foreigners, probably of about the size indicated by line, from seven to thirty five men.

In concluding the account of the words used to mean army there remains still

to be mentioned scip here, which properly belongs with the other words for peasants, and landhere. It has been noted that in the compounds of fierd and here the distinction attending the use of the words prop is not observed.

The only occurrences of rædhere and stelhere refer to the Danes, but scip here and landhere are used indiscriminately. Scip here occurs nine times in the Chronicle, referring to the Danish in 835, 860, 877, 894, 918, 1001; to Alfred's force in 875 and 885; and to that of Æpelstan in 933. Landhere occurs twice in the Chronicle, referring to the Danish in 921 and to Æpelstan's force in 933.

A battle formation which from the name itself indicates a resemblance between it and the Roman phalanx, was frequently used by the Anglo Saxons. The early acquaintance of the Romans with the Teutonic races, as far back as Tacitus gives one reason to believe that the northmen learned the formation from their southern visitors. Mention of the shieldwall is made three times in Maldon, once as bordweall a.s. 277; once as scyldburh, a.s. 142; and

once as wighaga. a. S. 102. Bordweall also occurs once in the Chronicle, Bordwealle 97, in the poetical entry for that date. Geweorc is used three times in Maldon in the sense of defensive earthwork, always in the dative case both with and to, geweorce 11, 131, 245. In connections with this the only occurrences of words meaning fortifications are to be noted. Burg occurs in Maldon, but in the Chronicle is found geweorc, used many times in the same sense as of our modern military term "works", and applied either to the defenses of the Danes or the Danes. Geweorc 871, 2; 893, 2; 894, 4; 896, 3; 921, 1; geweorce 896, 2; geweorc 916, 1; geweorcum 894, 1. Fæsten, modern "fast" occurs once, meaning an enclosure occupied by an army, fæstenne 918. The origin of the word is doubtful. The use of the word fort as a military term still exists, in which it means a place or enclosure vaulted by guns, mounted cannon, bombs, powder, provisions, stores, etc., when brought together, or the objects themselves; as a park of artillery.

Words meaning a leader in battle, and that only, are scarce, almost all of them having used to mean ruler, prince, or other title as

well. Heretoga, however, is used in the Chronicle MS. E and F meaning war-leader, and dux is used a number of times, once, A 845 meaning the same as heretoga. The sea warriors are mentioned under eight different names, exclusive of wicing, which has a special meaning. Ar healdoh secum hēdenmenn, a.p. hēdenum 199; g.p. hēdenmanna 164; sxleda w.s. 46, a.s. sǣlidan 216 sxeman, n.p. sxemen, 29, d.p. sxemannum, 13, 28; sxenne, n.s. 154; hæleðend, g.p. hæleða sundra 27 and hinman, n.p. hinmen 228 g.p. hinnanna 49. The listing of sxeman and hinman as men engaged in the pursuit of war may be questioned, perhaps, but the probability is that they are properly counted among the fighting men of the expeditions over seas. None of these words is used in the Chronicle, instead we find scipflota, scipherian 57, with about the same meaning as sxeman, and the two collective nouns here listed, 75, 182, 2; meaning the Danish crews or peasants, and scyhere, previously mentioned under here at meaning nine times. A fleet is mentioned twice in the Chronicle as flota one in 91 and once in the poetical entry of 937, but its use and that of the various words such, sæc, cnearr and lid,

for boat are questionable as military terms. Scip
bate is mentioned three times in Maldon, as
gafol, d.s. gafole 32, 46; a.s. 61. There also
occurs gisel, meaning hostage. p.s. 265. and
it is found six times in the Chronicle, three
times a.p. 877, 878, q.p. 894. in the compound
forgisel, meaning a chief hostage, or preliminary
hostage. The other three occurrences are. a. s. 874,
894, 918. No distinction is made between the
hostages given by the Saxons and those given
by the Danes. Once we find mention of a
fugitive of war here lēoda in the Chronicle,
93; and another compounds of here lēod,
meaning the remnant of an army, in the
same entry. Fridgeriht is used once in
the Chronicle, 945 in the sense of an order
in battle, and ēacen occurs in 894 meaning
a reinforcement, the only occurrence noted in
which the word has that meaning. Stemn
occurs in 894, meaning a term of military
service. Dīc, meaning a dike, or ditch, a
part of the military works of the time, occurs
twice, 877, 905. Ellenhafoc, warhawk occurs
once, in the poetical entry of 937.

The battlefield or battle place is denoted by
campstede, a poetical word occurring in the

Chronicle twice in 937; wæl-feld once in the same entry; and wæl-stōwe, the usual word, occurring a large number of times in the Chronicle and twice in Maldon: g. s. wælstowe 95 d. s. 293, Feld occurs twice in the Chronicle, meaning field of battle, once in 940 and once in the poetical 937. For peace, if peace may be called a military term, are found in Maldon friþ: g. s. friþes, 41; d. s. friþe, 179; a. s. 99; frēod: d. s frēode, 99; and grið. a. s. 35

The figures of speech occurring only among the military nouns of Maldon and the Chronicle are comparatively few in number. The straightforward language of the Chronicle contains almost no figures except in the poetical entries, and in that they are not numerous. Two are found in Maldon, where the tendency is toward the use of metaphor, and almost has much to metonymy. Still less frequent are words used figuratively in the Chronicle the entire list of military words used with a figurative meaning includes but eight, and seven of these occur in the poetical entries. The most noticeable thing about Anglo-Saxon figures in general is the scarcity of the

pinnacle, its place being taken almost entirely by metonymy and metaphor. In the Chronicle the following words are used as figures: *secg* meaning primarily ash, and *letan ofer-ærnan* to the spear and the shield, is used here, 8911, 2, to mean 'smash ships' as instances of metonymy. *Ecg* a very common figure in poetry, an example of synecdoche in using the edge of the weapon, usually the word to mean the weapon itself, occurs twice in g.s. *Fyrdsmu* meaning a term of military service, is used in 921 in a derived meaning of the men serving the term. This is the one use of a figurative military word in the Peterborough Chronicle, and it is a doubtful one. *Hamor-lāf* regarded as a compound word is one of the best metaphors in the whole Chronicle, and indicates the manner of making the Anglo Saxon sword; the "hammer-leaving" occurs in g.s. It is also found in Beowulf l. 2830.

heorde headu scearpe hornum tealde

Another case of metonymy is the use of *heafod-beorh*, war helmet meaning the shield. It also occurs in g.s. *Wonbeorg*, a mountain, and in the modern conception a

most ironical name for a battle, occurs in g.s. It is not certain whether or not the irony was intentional. Another metaphor similar in its derivation, is wæpengewrixle, also meaning battle. It occurs in g.s. Hygemit, wæpnedth, meaning a warrior, also occurs in g.s. Thus it will be seen that the poetical entry of g.s. supplies all the distinctively figurative military words in the Chronicle except gūdstemn. Of these, four are examples of metaphor, three of metonymy, and one of synechdoche.

As is to be expected, figurative words are more common in Maldon, thirteen in all being found in the poem, seven of which are metaphors, five examples of metonymy and one of synechdoche. Here we find wæpen used twice, a.s. 42, 110, both times meaning spear. Bordweall, wall of shields, doubly figurative, (bord for shield) meaning a phalanx, occurs in a.s. 271. Bord, literally "board" is commonly used to mean shield: There it occurs: m.s. 40; g.s. 283; a.s. 15, 42, 131, 245, 270, 309; g.p. 295; d.p. 101; a.p. 62, 283. Ecg occurs once, m.s. 60. Gār-holt, spear wood, meaning battle, occurs a.s. 32, an example of metaphor.

Another metaphor is gūðplega, war play, meaning battle, more widely. It occurs n.s. 62. Hringlocca, locked rings meaning corslet, occurs a p. 145. It is a case of metaphor. Iren and Iserna, meaning sword and shield, are the other two examples of metonymy. Iren occurs n.s. 253 and Iserna d.s. 74; a p. 99. Ord, another example of synecdoche in its meaning "point of a weapon" is generally used to mean the whole weapon. Three instances are, n.s. 60, 146, 157, 253; d.s. 124, 226; a.s. 4, 110. The word is used twice, n.s. 69; d.s. 2-3; to mean the line of battle. Wælwulf, slaughter wolf, is a metaphor used for warrior in a.p. 1. Brēgplega, battle sedge, meaning shield, is used a.p. 102. Again, as in the Chronicle, the metaphor is the figure most often used, seeming to merit it the favorite figure among Anglo Saxon writers.

In the Chronicle the use of compound words is not as generous as it is in poetical productions, the figurative language of poetry being largely responsible for the large number which abound in Anglo-Saxon. But compound words are a characteristic

of Teutonic languages, in their early stages among the Germans the tendency has been to preserve the characteristic, which is not true of the English. The following lists include all the compound nouns used in the Chronicle and Maldon. An attempt has been made to discover in the composition of the compounds, both prose and poetical, the relative use of prose and poetical parts. It will be noticed that in some cases a poetical compound is composed of two parts, each of which, used alone, is a prose word. Others are composed of one prose and one poetical component, while still others are made from two poetical words. The same is true of the prose compounds, as is shown by the following lists. The facilities at hand do not render the decision as to a word's use exclusively poetical absolutely certain, but it is thought that they will be found reasonably accurate.

The compound words in MS A of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

*	beadu weore	*	
*	bordweall		
*	campstede	*	
*	cumbel gehnad		
*	ded fruma		
*	eorodcyst		
	fyrdstemn		
	floc rad		
*	gārmitting	*	comp. only.
*	guðhafoc	*	
*	hamorlāf		
*	heaðulind	*	
	herereaf		
*	here flema		
	here hyð		
*	herelaf		
	here toga		
*	hilderinc	*	*
*	hondplega		* when denotes fight
	londhere		
	midwyrhta		
	rædhere		
*	scipflota		

* A star indicates a poetical word or component.

	sciphere		
	sciphlæst		*
	stǣlhere		
	sunorlida		
	taperæx		
	wælstowe		
*	wælfeld		
*	wæpengewrixle		
*	wīgsmiþ		
	The compounds in Maldon:		
*	æscholt		*
*	æschere		
*	bordwealle		
*	beaduræs		
	fyrdrinc		*
*	gārrēas	*	
*	gūðrinc	*	*
?	garberend	*	only in comp.
*	gūðplega	*	* to mean fight.
	heregeatu		
*	hringlocca		
*	hilderinc	*	*
*	lidmann	*	
*	scyldburh		
*	særing		*

* wīgplega	*	above
* wælwulf		
* wæðelstede		
* wælrest		
* wīghaga	*	
* wælstowe		
* wælspere		

The following list gives inversely all the Anglo-Saxon equivalents of the modern English words represented in the study. * Indicates that the word occurs only in the poetical entries.

	Maldon	Chronicle
aider		midwyrhta
armor	rēaf	
	byrne 3†	
	hringloca	
army	fēða	landhere
	fierd	sciphere
	here	sumorlida
	werod	stælhere
	weschere	scire
		rædhere
		*eorodcyst
		fyrdstemn
		flocc
		flocrād 2
		fultum 10
		fierd 38
		gefylc (in comp.) 2
		gelrūma 2
		here 103
		hleop 2
arrow	flan 2	

† The number indicates the number of times the word occurs.

battle	beadu		*beaduweorc
	beadurēs		* bilgesleht
	feohte		* camp
	garrās		* cumbelgehnād
	gefeoht		* gārmittung
	gecamp		gefeoht 6
	gūð	8	gewinn
	getoht		* gūð
	gewinn	3	* hondplega
	gūðplega		* sacu 2
	hild	8	* woepengewirxle
	wīgplega	2	
	wīg	7	
battlefield	woelrest		* campstede
	woelstōwe		* woelfeld
			woelslōwe
bow	boga		
booty	herehīð	3	herehīð 3
	herereāf	2	herereaf 2
defence	gebeorg	3	see fortification
dike			dīc
edge (of shield)	lēcg		
equipment (war)	heregeatu		
field			feld 1*
fleet			flotā 1*

fortification			gewearc	19
			fearruc	
fugitive			*hereflema	
leader			dux	
			heretoga	
peace	freod			
	frid			
	grid			
phalanx	bordweall		*bordweall	
	scyldburh			
	wīghaga			
pirate	brimlīðend		scipflota	
	lidman		sciphere	1
	sǣlida	2	sciphlæ[illegible]	3
	sǣman	3		
	sǣrinc			
reinforcement			ēaca	
remnant (of army)			herelāf	
sheath	scēað			
shield	bord	12	*heaðolind	
	lind	2	*scild	
	rand			
	scyld	2		
ship	scyp		sæc	
			*cnearr	
			*lid	
			scip	7

spear	æsc	2	* daroð	
	daroð	2	* gar	
	franca	2		
	gar	9		
	ord	8		
	spere	2		
	wælspere			
spearshaft	æscholt			
	sceaft			
sword	bill	2	* ecg	2
	ecg		* mēce	1
	iren		* sweord	3
	mēce	2	Lamorkin	
	sword	6		
term of mil. service			stemn	
tribute	gafol	3		
(hostage)	gīsel		gīsel	6
warrior †	cempa		* hilderinc	
	dreng		* secg	
	fyrdrinc		wigsmið	
	gūðrinc		wicing	2
	garberend		wiggend	
	hæse	7		
	hilderinc			
	rinc			
	secg	2		

† Includes viking

warrior (con)	woelwulf			
	wiga	7		
	wigend			
	wiciŋg			
warhawk			*gūðhafoc	
weapon	wǣpen	10	wǣpen	1*

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